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Vietnam. Notwithstanding their lack of success to date, the President has made overtures of peaceful intent; and, insofar as I am concerned, I would support him or any President, regardless of party, on that score since it involves the Nation's highest interests. Indeed, I would welcome any and all peaceful overtures, regardless of their source, for a settlement of this conflict.

The resolution would also "support the principles enunciated by the President that the people of South Vietnam are entitled to choose their own government by means of free elections open to all South Vietnamese." I am not aware of any quarrel with that principle in any quarter. Not only has the President of the United States expressed the principle, so, too, has the Government of North Vietnam, the Saigon government, and the National Liberation Front. The issue is not in the principle of the right of all South Vietnamese to join in freely choosing their own government. On that principle all are apparently agreed. The issue is how, when, and in what circumstances can a government representing the choice of the people of South Vietnam be freely chosen?

This Nation has long since bound itself to accept the results of a free election by the South Vietnamese people. I see no reason why the Senate should not restate the principle. Nor do I see any reason why, with proper safeguards, the Government of North Vietnam, the Saigon government and the NLF should not be asked to do the same.

Finally, the resolution "requests the President to call upon the Government of North Vietnam to join in a proclamation of a mutual cease-fire." Both the minority leader and I have asked separately in recent weeks that the element of a bona fide and unconditional mutual cease-fire be added to and moved to the forefront of the Nation's policy with respect to Vietnam. So far as I am concerned, it seems to me that the call by this Government for a mutual cease-fire, without ifs, ands, or buts, should be forthcoming without delay. It seems to me that the way to stop the bloodshed is to take the initiative to try to stop it now, if at all possible, by a mutual cease-fire.

As I have stated on previous occasions, the President appears to be moving in that direction. He has already personally ordered a change in tactics in Vietnam for U.S. forces from "maximum pressure" to "protective reaction." In my judgment, it is time to take a step to try to end the bleeding of U.S. forces in this war of Vietnam which is not and must not be ours.

It would be my hope, therefore, that this resolution might help light at least a candle in the darkness of this tragic and barbarous war. It will now go to the Committee on Foreign Relations and, if the committee so desires, I would appreciate an opportunity to appear on behalf of this resolution. I would expect that the committee will consider the text thoroughly, very thoroughly, perhaps—as the committee in its wisdom may decide—as part of its hearings on Vietnam. It may well be the committee will want to suggest modifications, additions, or subtractions. It might be desirable, for

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for not to exceed 10 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I join with the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Scott), in offering this resolution. My hope is that the Senate will express itself in a fashion that will strengthen the President's efforts to bring about the restoration of peace in Vietnam. I would be less than candid, however, if I were to tell the Senate that I nourished great expectations from this resolution in present circumstances.

It seems to me that the President's speech on Monday night suggested that prospects for a prompt return of peace were at least as remote as before and the response of the Hanoi negotiators in Paris to his statement underscored the point. It is in this grim context that the resolution is introduced.

Nevertheless, when the distinguished minority leader asked me to join him in this sponsorship, I sat down with him to see if we might agree on an expression that could be helpful to the President. The resolution which is offered today is the result. Notwithstanding the grim prospects, the resolution is not offered as an exercise in futility; it is offered, rather, in good faith and purpose. If this expression, or some modification thereof, can make even the slightest dent in this stubborn and intractable conflict, the effort will have been worthwhile.

May I say that there is little that is new in the substance of the proposed resolution. By its terms, "the Senate affirms its support for the President in his efforts to negotiate a just peace in Vietnam, and 'calls attention to the numerous peaceful overtures' which the United States has made toward North

example, to consider adding a plea with regard to information on the U.S. war prisoners in North Vietnam and for the humane treatment of the wounded, the captives, and the helpless on all sides.

Let me emphasize finally that I would expect the committee to take ample time to consider this resolution in all of its aspects. It is not introduced for purposes of window dressing or propaganda and, since it is sponsored by the joint leadership, it is not introduced with partisan intent. The day is very late for anything other than the most sober consideration of this question. There is no margin for the misunderstandings of another Tonkin Gulf resolution in terms of the Senate's responsibility and in terms of the urgent need of the Nation for an end to this war.

It would be my fervent hope that whatever action is taken by the committee and the Senate, it will be an action which will not serve to prolong this conflict. If the Senate acts at all, let it try to act with the President not to enlarge this tragic war but to shorten the path to peace.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate affirms its support for the President in his efforts to negotiate a just peace in Vietnam, expresses the earnest hope of the people of the United States for such a peace, calls attention to the numerous peaceful overtures which the United States has made in good faith toward the Government of North Vietnam, approves and supports the principles enunciated by the President that the people of South Vietnam are entitled to choose their own government by means of free elections open to all South Vietnamese and that the United States is willing to abide by the results of such elections, and requests the President to call upon the Government of North Vietnam to join in a proclamation of a mutual cease-fire and to announce its willingness to honor such elections and to abide by such results and to allow the issues in controversy to be peacefully so resolved in order that the war may be ended and peace may be restored at last in Southeast Asia.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I wish to congratulate the distinguished majority leader and to join him in his declaration of a desire to appear and testify before the Committee on Foreign Relations. I would express the hope that action could be taken on this resolution or on its content, as the committee may wish to consider it, and any possible revision, as soon as possible.

I am aware of the importance of considering at that time the plight of prisoners of war. I joined in another resolution touching on the unfortunate treatment of prisoners of war and the lack of information regarding them or the treatment of them.

I would hope, therefore, that the Committee on Foreign Relations would give this resolution at least as high priority as any other matters pending be-

fore it so that the voice of the Senate may be heard in its expression of its desire for the earlier possible conclusion of the war, as well as the total concern of all Members of Congress in the plight of the prisoners of war.